

IMPEACHMENT,

O R

No Impeachment:

Or, An Enquiry how far the Impeachment of certain Persons, at the present juncture, would be consistent with Honour and Justice.



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L O N D O N :

Printed for J. Baker, at the Black-Boy in
Peter-Nether-Row, 1714.

(Price Three-Pence.)

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
BY JOHN STOW
1618

T H E
P R E F A C E.

*W*hatever Offence is taken at the Freedom of these Pages, and whatever Names of Whimsical, or Conceited, are bestowed upon the Author, he will not in the least be moved; because he is so clearly conscious of his good Intentions. He thinks it is so evident, that what is written, is not done with a Design to complement a Party, that there is no Need of giving the World Assurances of this. He is sensible that a Pamphlet, warmly and thoroughly espousing the Cause of a Party, would, at this

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Season, have been the most fashionable Entertainment; but his chief Concern has been to manifest a Spirit of Honesty in this whole Performance; and as his Duty to His Majesty, and a Zeal for the Honour of his Country, put him upon writing; so he hopes his rational and dispassionate Readers will forgive the Mistakes, and not severely censure the Blemishes of the following Piece. He concludes, with desiring his Reader calmly to go through it, before he pronounces upon it.



IMPEACHMENT,

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No Impeachment, &c.



IT is a Truth in the general, allow'd by all, That as nothing gives a truer Honour and Dignity to a Nation, than an equal and impartial Distribution of Justice; so, by a contrary Practice, it becomes most infamous and contemptible. But yet so perverse are the Tempers of Men, that they will not endure the most fair Application of this Rule to particular Instances. It is not uncommon to observe some unhappy Offenders voted to the most severe and ignominious Punishments, whilst others, that have been their Associates, are plac-
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ed in Stations of the greatest Honour and Trust. Every *Briton*, who dares to think, cannot but have some late eminent Examples of this Nature in his Eye; and some of these are so very remarkable, that I could not forbear publishing to the World my Thoughts of them: In which, though the Reader must not expect any thing fine or uncommon; yet he will find Fairness and a true Impartiality. That I may manage this with some Regularity, I will,

I. Briefly represent the Behaviour of that lately formidable Triumvirate.

II. I will do Justice to the Conduct of another Three.

III. Consider the different Treatment they have had, and are like to meet with.

IV. Make some plain Remarks upon the unlucky Fate of those, and happy one of these.

As to the First; I mean a late S——, a C——, a T——; what these Men have done to the Nation; what they have contriv'd, and done for our Enemies; and what to our best Friends and Allies, is fresh in every one's Memory; therefore

fore I will barely mention things. *First*, They have loaded the Nation with the most heavy Taxes. Our old Debts, notwithstanding this, remain undischarged; the Arrears due to the Foreign Troops (except those of *Hanover*) are not paid; by which our Credit abroad has been ruin'd. The brave Officers, that behaved themselves to the Honour of the *English* Nation, were in a starving Condition for several Months. The private Soldiers, that had undergone numberless Hardships, were broke without Money, and without Clothing, and consequently obliged to beg, in this forlorn Condition, to their respective Habitations. What is due under their Management to the *Civil List* and *Navy*, I leave to be enquired into: And yet the Nation is charged with fresh Debts to a prodigious Sum; but how have they employ'd these vast Sums? They have weaken'd our Barrier; for I call it ours, as well as the *Dutch*. They have choaked up the Entrance to the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, but have suffer'd the *French* to make another: And that Port will, in a little Time, become more commodious than ever. They made up a Bill of Commerce with *France*, which,
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had it been made good by P——, would intirely have ruin'd our Trade. Our *Newfoundland* and *Spanish* Trade have been both given away. The *South Sea* and *Assiento* Trade, if carried on according to their Model, are like to ruin some of our best Plantations.

2. Let us now see what they have done for our Enemies: And I believe they have almost exceeded even their Wishes and Expectations. What they have done, may, in a great Measure, be inferr'd from what has been said above. They have given, or suffer'd to fall into their Hands, such Fortresses as *Lisle*, *Doway*, &c. But I will say no more than that they have given up *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*, to the House of *Bourbon*. I will not enlarge; for my Reader will find all this black Management fully laid open in those most excellent Pieces, *A Letter to a Member of the October Clubb*; *A Vindication of the Barrier Treaty*; *The Sighs of Europe*; and *Baron Bothmar's Memorial*. But,

3. Let us see in what Manner they have acted towards our Friends. The Cessation of Arms, and the Case of the
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Catalans, are greater Instances of Barbarity and Falseness, than have ever appeared in the most barbarous and perfidious Nations. The insolent Manner in which His Majesty and Family were treated ; the open Way in which Numbers were permitted to avow, and promote the Interest of the Pretender, need not particular naming. To these might be added a great many other black Facts, for which these Patriots have received the greatest Applauses, both from the Senate and People ; it is not therefore strange, that they dar'd to go on at this wonderful Rate ; the general Opinion will have these to be the first *Three* in Management. But there are another *Three*, who must at least be allow'd to be *Seconds*, they are a D——, a B——, and an E—— : And,

II. I will endeavour to do Justice to the Conduct of this Triumvirate. They who are most industrious to vindicate the Characters of two of these, must own, that they did most heartily join and assist in making the Peace. And can it fairly be deny'd, that our Complaints of Trade, and our Danger of

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the Pretender, and all that Train of Calamities we have felt, are any other than necessary Consequences of the Peace? Did not his Majesty, in his Memorial, foretel them? They must then see and approve these Consequences; and therefore the Part which these two have since acted, must proceed from some other Motives than Regard to the Publick. I shall hereafter mention what these were: But let it be allowed, that they have been sincere Enemies to some late Measures; I will maintain, that the making the Peace is a Crime so black, a Villany so monstrous, that they who had any Hand in it, should for ever, by all true *Britons*, be accounted infamous: But how can it be deny'd that these have been chief Actors, when one was our first P——y at the base, separate Negotiations at V——? Was it not owing to his Character, that the black Tribe, so unanimously, and with such Zeal, applauded the Peace from the Pulpit, and recommended it in Conversation. Every Body knows how closely the D—— was joined with the late T——r, when that famous Conversation past betwixt the T——r's Lady, and his high-born,

born, truly Religious, and Protestant
 Consort; wherein the last frankly de-
 clared, she had never heard of the
 Lord *Jehovah*. By the Way then,
 there was a great Intimacy betwixt
 them, when the T——r was so free
 with our Constitution as to make up
 his famous Dozen. Would he either
 have chosen, or accepted the Character
 of E———r to the F——ch Court,
 had he not been most hearty for an
 Union with that Nation? The pert and
 forward E——, with all his Bustling,
 could not get into any Station in *Eng-
 land*; hence the chief of his Exploits
 were in *Ireland*. And there 'tis well
 known, with what Fury he acted for
Popery, and the Establishment of Ty-
 ranny; how effectually he took Care
 to weaken the Protestant Interest; to
 discourage the most steady Friends of
 His Majesty, and to encourage those
 of the P——r. If Sir C——P——s's
 Management was hateful, his was e-
 qually so; the horrid Part he acted in
 the *Schism Bill*, must not be forgotten;
 not to mention the Hardship upon that
 Kingdom, that we should make Laws
 for them. What an Enemy must he
 be to the Protestant Interest, who,

when they are but as *One* to *Nine* to the *Papists*, attempted to crush one half of them? for so the *Dissenters* are in *Ireland*; nay, in the *North*, where there is the best Body of Protestants, they are generally *Presbyterians*. How void of all Sentiments, both of Compassion and Justice, must he be, who could act this, notwithstanding the many ill things the S——y did; a more detestable thing cannot be mentioned of him; a flaming Zeal for Mother Church, made this Peer put off all Pity for his nearest Relations; sure A——y thou art the warmest Votary of the Goddess *Persecution*; and thy *Cantabrigian* Orators, who have so greatly applauded religious Rage, by their sublime *Panegyrics*, will for ever raise thy Name. But I will say no more of these hateful Measures.

III. I will consider the different Treatment these two Setts of Worthies have had, and are likely to meet with. It might justly be expected, at a Time when we boast so much of the Honour of our Nation being restored, that they who have been Partners in the same Crimes, should be Associates in Punishment. But I know not what malignant

nant Planet influences the Affairs of the first *Three*: They, poor unhappy Men, have had Axes and Halters shook at them from every Quarter, whilst their late dear Intimates are possessing Stations of Profit, Honour, and Trust, and are warming themselves in the Sun-shine of their Prince's Favour. His G—— particularly, is in a fair Way of being put into one of the most honourable and profitable Posts about his M——y: I hope the E——s will have the same Favour done Her by the P——s. I might now consider what can be offer'd for these Prodigies; but this will be more properly done in another Place.

IV. I will therefore make some plain Observations upon this surprizing Management. I am sensible that it will be objected, that it is rash for a Stand-by to judge upon the *Arcana* of Government. But this is what is generally offer'd for the greatest Absurdities. However, that I may not be thought hasty and forward, I will premise the following things. I own,

First, Where there are a great Number of Offenders in the State, it is frequently

quently neither proper nor safe to punish all that are guilty ; the best Method will be to single out, and remarkably chastize, the most notorious. But,

Secondly, Though all are not to be punish'd, common Sense and Equity forbids to reward and trust such ; for then the severe Executions of their Partners look more like personal Pique and Revenge, than a necessary and just Severity. Besides, the End and Design of such Punishment is, in a great Measure, spoil'd ; for, at this Rate, leading Men of a Party will always find a sufficient Number of Instruments and Associates in the most black Designs : For they will thus argue ; *If what I am about miscarry, as I am not one of the most forward, I shall, by this very Way, make my self both feared and trusted.* These are Truths which have the clearest Evidence ; but I need not say how little they have been regarded ; the foregoing Account too plainly proves this. But I will consider what may be offer'd for these distinguish'd *Three.*

1st, For the B—— it will be said, that what he acted at the Congress, he did

did by Order; and when his Vindicators have said this, they think he is fully excused. But would it be thought sufficient for a Governour, that should deliver up *Portsmouth* or *Harwich*; or an Admiral, that should surrender our Navy to the Enemy, to be able to say, *I had my Orders from a T——r, or a S——y*; and if not in these Cases, why should it be pleaded in Behalf of the B——? Here I might mention several things; but I will not repeat Particulars; every Body knows and remembers how monstrous and villanous a thing, the Management of the Peace was: But it will be said, why so concerned at his being a P——C——, and D—— of the C——l? Custom has made these to belong to a B—— of L——, and it is like he will not be often summoned. Now, admitting all this to be true, surely, for the Sake of such an one, the Custom ought to be broke. But it will be said, it is not proper to disgrace a B——: An Answer may readily be given to all that the Tories can say about this, by bidding them remember, upon how little an Occasion they procured the B—— of *W——r* to be turned out of his Place

Place of *Almoner*. It will be said for the E——, that he had a chief Hand in stopping the F. B. of C——; and that he declared very solemnly against the late Measures. What Hand he had in throwing out the *Bill*, does not certainly appear; but will any thinking Man say, that the least Honour is due to the Tories, who acted so phantastically in this Affair? Did not Sir T——, at the Head of his Squadron, one Day declare the *Bill* ruinous to our Traffick, and the next, procure an Address of Thanks to the Queen, for the Care She had taken of Trade.

His L——p's Declaration is one of the most scandalous Parts of his Conduct; because he so quickly forgot it; If his extending the *Schism Bill* to *Ireland*, be duly considered; if his Management in that Kingdom, and his last Errand thither, be carefully look'd into, I doubt not but it will appear, he deserveth as much as the renowned V——.

The D——, because the greatest Marks of Honour are bestowed upon him, must be more particularly considered. It will be said, that he acted well in I——; that he oppos'd the
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extending of the *Schisme Bill* to that Kingdom. But a short Account of his *G*— will make it appear, whether his Merit, upon these Occasions, be such as his Friends would perswade us, when he went to *F*— with the Character of *E*—, *P*— was in several Instances preferred to him: At this he was so disgusted, that he carry'd a Resentment of it to *I*—, which was wrought up to a greater Height, by some other Affronts he receiv'd in that Kingdom; this made him oppose the Measures of those he had before so heartily fallen in with. This is the Account of his Conversion: Can it be said that he was hearty; and that from a publick Spirit he opposed the extending of the *Schisme Bill*, when he introduc'd the *L*— in *A*—, wherein the *Q*— had Thanks for it? They who can believe such Contradictions, are prepared to swallow the most gross Absurdities. I esteem it most unfair to labour at giving an invidious Turn to good and worthy Actions; but I dare appeal to the best natur'd of my Readers, who is also sensible and unprejudic'd, whether the Account I have now given, is not most fair and natural.

What I have said concerning these *three*, is applicable to all others, who have been Actors in these vile Enormities. It is not unjust if I maintain, that they who, in the H—— C——, reviled the worthy Administration of our best Patriots, abused and vilified our Allies, protected and applauded our Destroyers, are, of all Men, the most inexcusable. It was therefore with Amazement, that I heard of our most deserving C—— G——, protecting W—— in his Government of the Isle of W——, in Opposition to that best of *Englishmen*, the D—— B—— : Shall he who was so active a Tool in the H—— C——; for he voted for the F. B. C? Shall he that was so active in influencing Corporations to chuse such as would go to the most infamous Lengths, be favoured? And a P——r, that spent and laboured so much to secure good Members for such a County as H——re, be thus neglected? But the Battle of *Winendale* will be urg'd; and so may the Act of Succession in Favour of a greater than he: And thus we might go through the whole Circle of ———. But is it not egregious Trifling to affirm, that be-

because a Man happen'd once to perform an Action remarkably good, that this must atone for all subsequent Crimes, how notorious soever? Before I part with these Observations, upon the vile Part some have acted in P——, who would now set up for Patriots; I must not forget Sir T—— H——, and I hope all true Britons, and all our Allies, will ever remember him, for the remarkable Truth and Sincerity he expressed, in drawing up the two Five and four Thousand Pounds Representation: A Man that would go to such Lengths as these; his Zeal for the Succession and his Countrey may justly be thought to be pretended, and to be only the Effect of chagrin, upon his missing the Place of S——y. In short, they who declared for the Peace, and yet declare against the Pretender; such must be either void of common Honesty, or common Sense; and they to whom either of these Characters belong, are far from being qualified for Stations of Profit, Honour, or Trust. But I am weary of mentioning these well-known Cases; nor had I done it, was it not palpable, that we are guilty

of a most scandalous Partiality; for we graciously forget and forgive the base Behaviour of some, and expose, with the utmost Art, the same Faults in others. I am far from being a Vindicator of the late Ministry; but Truth obliges me to say, that as Self-preservation is a very powerful Principle of humane Nature; as the Power and Interest of prime Ministers in the late Reign were so very considerable; as few, especially the leading Men of a Party, are willing to own their Mistakes, and alter those Measures, of the Goodness of which they have been very positive; so I am far from being surpriz'd, that they ventur'd to do such things. They who encourag'd them, by deluding the People, and voted for, or conniv'd at, their Measures in their legislative Capacities, are more criminal than their Masters; because not under such Temptations.

I only add, that nothing is more likely to give the World a violent Suspicion, that certain Persons are unjustly aspers'd, when they, who have been acting Crimes of the same Nature, tho' not perhaps criminal in the same Degree,

groes, are favoured, trusted, or honour-
ed; as it will naturally incline us to
pity those, who are thus invidiously
singled out to Punishment; for it may
wear out the Impressions we have re-
ceiv'd to their Disadvantage, and, per-
haps, make all such, who have no per-
sonal Animosities, entertain more ho-
nourable Thoughts of them; and con-
sequently no very honourable ones of
those that manage against them. I
would never have a Ministry so dazzled
with the Lustre of their Power, as not
to see the most plain and palpable Ab-
surdities; for though they will not see,
both Friends and Enemies diligently
observe, and there is nothing that can
more weaken their Authority, and ear-
nish their Honour.

There are certain Rules of Reason,
by which a Courtier, as well as other
Men, is obliged to conduct himself;
and consequently, it is not impossible
for a Man, that has the due Exercise
of his Understanding, to discern when
Men in the highest Station act unrea-
sonably: If this be not granted, it will
follow, that a Courtier can do no
Wrong; and therefore there was no
Harm

Harm in all the Management of some late Actors; or at least that we, the Vulgar, are no Judges of these things; if so; though I never could imagine it before now, S——le was very impertinent, and betray'd aundance of Ignorance in his *Englishman*, and other Papers. My L——d N——m was very faucy for writing Observations on the State of the Nation; and to what Purpose are late Miscarriages so industriously represented, and expos'd to the People, if only Courtiers are qualified to make a Judgment? I would not be so far mistaken as to have it thought, that I presume to direct my Superiors, on whom they are to bestow Favours. All I pretend to say is this, That amongst Men of the same Deserts, some cannot be punish'd, whilst others are rewarded, without the most foul and unjust Partiality. As it is expected from the ensuing P——t, that they will do Justice to certain Persons; so let us not doubt, but that so much good Sense, Integrity, and Courage, will be found in that August Assembly, that they will also take a proper and impartial Notice of their Accomplices,

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plices, without any Regard to the
high Stations in which they shine:
But if this is not done, then I will bid
an eternal Farewel to the Honour
and Justice of the *British* Nation.

F I N I S.


